

A *R. du Moulin* *1640* *R. Young*

LETTER  
OF  
A FRENCH  
PROTESTANT  
TO  
A SCOTISHMAN OF  
THE COVENANT.

Wherein one of their chiefe pretences  
is removed, which is their conformitie with  
the French Churches in points of  
Discipline and Obedience.



45

LONDON,  
Printed by R. Young, and R. Badger. 1640.

LETTER

OF

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PROTESTANT

TO

A SCOTSMAN

THE CONVENT

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the French Church Discipline.



LONDON.

Printed by R. James, and A. Baskin, 1740.



A LETTER OF  
FRENCH PROTESTANT  
TO  
A SCOTISHMAN OF THE  
COVENANT.

SIR,



So there hath been for many  
ages a great relation between  
France and Scotland for mat-  
ters of State, the like hath  
been in matters of Religion  
betweene the Protestant  
Churches of both the Kingdomes ever since  
the reformation: But I wish that our exam-  
ple be not mistaken, and abused to our di-  
sparagement, and your ruine, and the perpe-  
tuall disgrace of Christian Religion.



(2.)

*Alledged in the  
large Declara-  
tion of his Ma-  
jestie, pag. 417.*

For whereas in one of your Petitions to his Majestie you are confident, that *your neighbour-Churches will approve all your proceedings;* your neighbour-Churches of France have solemnly disapproved all your proceedings, and herein given good satisfaction to his Majestie: For it was ever farre from our wishes, that your conformitie with the reformed Churches of France should be mis-applied as a pretence of your expulsi<sup>ng</sup> of your Bishops, much lesse a president for you to take armes against your gracious Sovereigne.

Wherefore I will endeavour to remove that false colour set upon the violent counsels of the Covenant, and shew to the world, that for your differences with Episcopall authoritie, which are now broken into a quarrell, you had neither president nor encouragement from us.

And since it pleaseth his Majestie in the beginning of his Royal Declaration, to make this one of his two ends, *to manifest his justice and piety to the reformed Churches abroad;* these reformed Churches are bound in dutie of thankfulnessse to shew how they rest satisfied of his Majesties justice and pietie.

For



(3.)

For my part, although I am happily engrafted into the body of the Church of England, I may be admitted in this case to speake as a Frenchman borne, that knoweth the tenets of that Church better then strangers, that would abuse the example of the French to their owne ends: And I am assured in my conscience, that when I was adopted by the Church of England, I was not removed into another Gospel.

This also I may affirme of mine owne knowledge, that the French Divines and other godly men that travell into England, returne home with great satisfaction, seeing the soundnesse of doctrine and decencie of order so well matched together; and joyne their hearty praises with the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat* of our Quires; praising God chiefly, because they see the puritie of the Gospel, and the Royall Authority linked together with a most neere interest in their mutuall conservation.

The conformitie which you claime with the French is triple; with their doctrine, with their discipline, and (in the present quarrell) with their actions: And the French will  
heartily

(4.)

heartily embrace a Christian conformity with you, so farre as you shall not draw their necessitie into counsell, nor their faults into example.

As for the conformitie in doctrine, blessed be God that among all the reformed Churches of Europe there is neither deformity nor difformity in that point: All the reformed Churches professe the same holy faith with you; and of that faith the Kings Majestie is Defender, of which he hath lately published many solemne protestations, to the great satisfaction of all good Christians, both within and without the Kingdome. Here let all that love Gods glorie and the union of his Church upon earth, say, *Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, who hath put such a thing as this in the Kings heart: The Lord prolong the Kings life, O prepare mercy and truth that may preserve him.*

*Ezra 7. 17.*

*Psal. 61. 7.*

*\* Beza epist. 8.  
ad Grinda.  
Episcopum  
Londinensem.  
Gallicas &  
vestras Ecclesi-  
as in omnibus  
fidei capitibus  
consentire ar-  
bitramur.*

It were superfluous to prove the consent of all reformed Churches with the Church of England in points of doctrine: None of them but will say as much to the English Prelates, as Beza to Bishop Grindall, *\* Wee hold that the French Churches agree with yours in all points of faith.*

He

(5.)

He that set forth all the Confessions of the Reformed Churches in one volume, hath not lost his praise for concealing his name. Never was a more precious harmonie; none more like a heaven upon earth: such an evident consent needeth rather praises to God then proofes.

As for points of Discipline, the difference of some Churches from that of England (if charity were on both sides) ought to set forth the consent in points of faith with more reverence and admiration: As *Irenaeus* writing to *Victor*, about the different Fasting of the Eastern and Western Churches, *The difference of Fasting* (saith he) *confirmeth the union in faith*: For that in such a difference of climars, nations, manners, and policies, there should be such an union in faith, *It is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

A main point of difference pretended by the Covenanters, is the superioritie of Bishops, (for I will not search into your other aimes) which you affirme to be Antichristian, and contrarie to the Word of God; wherein I see not how you can claime conformitie with the French Churches. The French indeed have

B

no



Matth. 5. 19.

no Bishops, but they never put downe Bishops, nor induced others to put downe Bishops: And you know, that our Saviour puts a difference between *breaking of commandements*, and *teaching men so*: Now to have Bishops is a commandement, and none of the least; for it is an Apostolicall order: Suppose then that the French *breake it*, yet *they doe not teach men so*; And I will endeavour to shew you that they teach men otherwise; and that it is necessitie, not choice, that keepeth them from Episcopall order. But the Scots *break that commandement*, and *teach men so*; and represent the Antichrist in no other habit then a Rochet and a Miter.

That the French Divines *doe not teach men so*, and allow not the abolishing of Bishops, it may easily bee justified: For in the matter of Geneva, there was more Politicall then Theologicall reasons for refusing their Bishop: The Bishop of Geneva was also their Prince, who had such power there, as the Duke in Venice, and was rather Governour then Sovereigne: For the people *had that right to elect foure Syndics, and give them full power*; It is the 22. Article of their authentick Charter: *And without the counsell, consent, and expresse will of those Syndics,*

*These you have  
in a book, called  
Le Citadin  
Genevois.*

*Syndics, and of the Citizens, none was to be absolved or condemned in the Citie.* It is the 14. Article of their Charter: Before any Bishop was admitted, hee swore to observe and maintaine these liberties, and so did the last Bishop, *Ann. 1523.* Who afterwards being found to treat with the Duke of Savoy, to deliver the Citie into his hands, a great uproare arose in the Citie, which the Bishop fearing, fled by night; and when, after many invitations, hee would not returne, the people shut the doore after him; not for any difference of Religion, but of State: Yet the people being thus alienated from their Bishop, was more susceptible of that change of Religion which hapned presently after, by the comming of *Farell* and *Viret*. In the mean while the Duke of Savoy, being now strengthened with the Bishops right, began to annoy them. While they were thus tottering, both in Religion and State, *Calvin* came, who having got great authority in the Citie, took in hand the settling of that fluctuation; A matter of great difficulty: For to receive their Bishop, they durst not, fearing to indanger their Religion & their Liberties, and fall into the hands of their perpetuall enemie the Duke of Savoy:

To make another Bishop they would not, and could not, their old Bishop being alive: Wherefore they chose to be without a Bishop, and rule the Citie by the Syndics, being perswaded that their Charter gave them no lesse power: But whether they had any Charter to rule the Church with a mingled Consistorie of Clergie and Laitie, without any Bishop, *ipsi viderint*, let them defend their own right: My end is onely to shew, that in that change of Discipline, Necessity bare more sway then Counsell, and Policie then Divinitie.

Howsoever, their actions must not be imputed to the French Churches, Geneva being a body apart, and having interests of their own peculiar to themselves. But the French Churches never unbishopped any Prelate: and of them also it may be said, that it was Necessitie, not any Theologicall decision, that made them frame a Church without Bishops.

For *Calvin*, who had the greatest hand in their Discipline, was more enclined to the Episcopacie. In his Confession made in the name of the Churches of France, and presented to the Emperour, *Anno 1562.* hee professeth it: *Wee would not abolish* (saith hee) the



(9.)

the authoritie of the Church, that is of Pastours and Superintendents, that have the government of the Church committed unto them: Wee confesse then, that Bishops or Pastours must be reverently heard, as farre as they teach the Word of God according to their function. Here is for you a publike Declaration of the French Churches, that they disallow not the authoritie of Bishops; and if they had power, would not take them away.

*calvin. opuscul.  
in confess. Ec-  
clesiæ Gallic.*

*Ecclesiæ au-  
thoritatem vel  
Pastorum, aut  
Superinten-  
dentium, qui-  
bus Ecclesiæ  
regendæ pro-  
vincia manda-  
ta est, subla-  
tam nolumus:  
Fatemur ergo  
Episcopos, five  
Pastores reve-  
renter audien-  
dos, quatenus  
pro suæ fun-  
ctionis ratione  
verbum Dei  
docent.*

In that Confession of faith presented to Francis the first of France, I see nothing contrarie to the English Discipline, if it bee candidly interpreted: For the 30<sup>th</sup>. Article, that all true Pastors have equall power under their Universall Bishop Jesus Christ, is confessed also by the Church of England: for the power which Bishops and Priests have under their Universall Bishop Jesus Christ, is equall, as they are Priests. A preheminence and authoritie indeed they have, as Bishops, and that by Apostolicall, and therefore Divine institution. But the power which Christ in the Evangelists immediately giveth to Pastours, concerneth only the preaching of the Word, and administring of the Sacraments, and

the power of binding and loosing in *foro interiori*; Herein they are all equall, and all Vicars of Christ: No Bishop in England, but, in this sense, will subscribe willingly to this Canon of the Councell of Carthage,

\* *Conc. Carthag. Can. 8.*  
*Ut sublimior*  
*quidem sedeat,*  
*sed tamen se*  
*collegam*  
*Presbyterorum*  
*agnoscat.*

\* *That the Bishop sits in a higher degree, but yet acknowledges himselfe colleague to the Priests.*

But although the Bishop in his consecration receive no new binding and loosing power in *foro interiori*, besides that which he received when hee was made a Priest; yet it is of Apostolicall right, that great part of that power diffused in the collective bodie of the Clergie, should bee confined to the Bishop; lest the keyes of the Church, being in too many hands, should clash one against another, and there should be playing at fast and loose. And Calvin agreeth to it, I never

*Calvin. Epist. ad Gasparum Lizetum.*  
*Nunquam utile putavi jus excommuni-*  
*candi permitti singulis Pastoribus. Nam*  
*& res odiosa est, nec exemplum proba-*  
*bile, & facilis in tyrannidem lapsus, &*  
*alium usum Apostoli tradiderunt.*

*thought it usefull (saith hee) to commit the power of excommunication to every Pastor; For it is an odious thing, and an example not to bee approved, and which would soone slip into tyrannie; and the Apostles have delivered another custome. It is true, that Calvin in that Epistle will not have Lizetus to meddle alone with Ecclesiasticall*

Ecclesiasticall censures; and he is in the right, since *Lizetus* was no Bishop: But hee declareth plainly, that the office of censures must be limited to certaine men, not promiscuously used by every Clergy-man of his owne head: Else there would bee soone as many petty spirituall Tyrants, as there are peevish Ministers in the severall Parishes. Had it been in the power of every Priest to receive accusations, and pronounce excommunications, Saint *Paul* would not have limited to *Timothies* knowledge the receiving of accusations, nor made him alone Judge of the Priests.

*Calvin* indeed aimed at no such matter, as the generall pulling downe of Bishops: Hee acknowledgeth, that in the Primitive Church the <sup>a</sup> Priests out of their number would chuse one in every Citie, to whom they gave the title of Bishop; lest that equality, as it is ordinary, should breed contentions.

And in his Epistle to the King of \* Poland, about the reformation of that Kingdome; he sets downe to the King the order of the Primitive Church for a patterne, where there were Patriarchs, and Primats, and subordi-

nate 1576.

<sup>a</sup> Calvin. lib. 2.

Instit. cap. 4.

Art. 2.

Presbyteri ex suo numero in singulis civitatibus unum eligebant, cui specialiter dabant titulum

Episcopi; ne ex aequalitate, ut fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur.

\* Calvin. Epist. ad regem Pol.

pag. 140. &

141. Editionis Genevensis, an.



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nate Bishops, to tye the whole bodie together with the bond of concord: And advi-  
seth the King to establish Bishops in every  
Province, and over them an Archbishop and  
Primate of that great Kingdome. And if the

<sup>b</sup> Calvin. instit.  
lib 4 cap. 12.

Art. 6.

Sanè si veri es-  
sent Episcopi,  
aliquid eis hac  
in parte autho-  
ritatis tribue-  
rem; non  
quantum sibi  
postulant, sed  
quantum ad  
Politiam Ec-  
clesiæ ritè or-  
dinandam re-  
quiritur.

<sup>b</sup> Popish Bishops were true Bishops, hee would allow  
them some authoritie; not as much as they chal-  
lenge, but as much as [hee thinkes] would serve  
for the right ordering of Church government. That  
hee would not allow them as much power  
as they claime, no man can wonder at it, that  
knoweth the exemptions which they claime  
from Royall authority, and their incroach-  
ments upon the civill power, and their pre-  
tended independencie from any but the Pope,  
whereby they make *regnum in regno*, another  
kingdome in every kingdome.

But although I would not clip their wings  
so short as Calvin would have; yet I wish for  
your owne good, that the Churches of Scot-  
land would yeeld to Bishops as much power  
as Calvin doth, even the power of censures,  
and of presenting and ordaining Priests: <sup>c</sup> Let

<sup>c</sup> Calvin. tra-  
ctat. de neces-  
sitate reforman-  
de Ecclesiæ.

Potestatem  
nominandi &

ordinandi retineant, justum illud & serium doctrinæ & vitæ examen restituant, quod  
sanè multis sæculis obsolevit.

Bishops retaine the power of naming and ordaining

[Priests;]



[Priests,] Let them restore that just and serious examination of doctrine and life which is growne out of use many ages agoe. It is not then the use, but the abuse of Bishops, that Calvin and the Reformed Churches of France reject. And were it in their power, they would not put downe Bishops: They onely crave the reformation of Religion, and are ready to submit themselves to Episcopall power.

Zanchius above all the Outlandish Writers is expresse upon that point; who indeed is no Frenchman, but of the like Discipline: This is his Protestation, *That before God, and*

*in his conscience, he holds them all for no better then Schismatickes, that set this downe as a part of reformation of the Churches, to have no Bishops, that have any eminence of degree and authoritie above their true fellow-Priests, where they may well be had. And besides, that he holds with*

*Hier. Zanch. Thesib. de vera reformatione Ecclesiarum ratione. Testor me coram Deo in mea conscientia non alio habere loco quam Schismaticorum illos omnes qui in parte reformationis Ecclesiarum ponunt nullos habere Episcopos, qui autoritatis gradu supra suos compresbyteros emineant, ubi li- quidò possunt haberi. Præterea cum D. Calvino, nullo non anathemate dignos censeo, quotquot illi Hierarchiæ quæ se Domino Jesu submittit, subjici nolunt.*

*\* That place cited out of Calvin, is in his True use de necessitate reformationis Ecclesiæ.*

*Calvin, that they are all worthy of any execration, that will not submit themselves unto that Hierarchie that submitteth it selfe unto the Lord Jesus Christ.*

*Christ.* Here is a coard with two strings,  
the authority of two worthy men toge-  
ther.

The same *Zanchius* saith a little before,

*Ibid.* Qui universalis omnium loco-  
rum & temporum, usque ad hanc æra-  
tem, usum & sensum Ecclesiæ certum  
habet, sequiturque interpretem; facile  
intelligit diversos gradus Presbytero-  
rum & Episcoporum, in gubernatione  
Ecclesiastica esse secundum Dei ver-  
bum, & semper fuisse. Proinde, ubi vi-  
gent, non esse abolendos; & ubicunque  
iniquitas temporum eos abolevit, aut  
non tulit, esse restituendos.

Hee that will receive and follow  
the use and the opinion of the uni-  
versall Church, in all times and  
places unto this age for a certaine  
interpreter of Gods word; will  
easily understand, that the seve-  
rall degrees of Priests and Bi-

shops in the Ecclesiasticall government, are, and e-  
ver were according to Gods word; and therefore  
where they stand still, they must not bee abolished:  
And where the contrarietie of times hath aboli-  
shed, or not suffered them, they must bee set up a-  
gaine.

This was also the tenet of *Martin Bucer*,  
who assisted the reverend Bishops of Eng-  
land in the reformation. And although he  
lived in a Church where Ministers were  
equall, hee delivereth himselfe plainly: We  
must endeavour, that all the manner and distribu-

*a Bucer. tract.  
de reformatanda  
Ecclesia, qui in-  
venitur tom. I. I.  
constitut. Im-  
perial.*

*Annitendum*

itaque ut ea omnino procurationis Ecclesiasticæ ratio & ordinatio, quam Canones  
Episcopis & Metropolitanis præscribunt, restituatur & servetur.

tion

tion of Ecclesiasticall government, which the Canons prescribe unto Bishops and Metropolitans, bee restored and maintained.

Beza himselfe, who preferred equalitie before superioritie in the Church, yet hath declared his dislike of those that resisted Episcopall power where it was established: For in an Epistle of his to some brethren of England, that would bee ruled by him rather then their Bishops at home, hee<sup>b</sup> exhorteth them, that leaving all bitterness, as long as the truth of the doctrine, and puritie of conscience was safe, they would beare one another with patience, and obey the Queenes most gracious Majestie, and all their Prelates with a free heart.

And writing to Bishop Grindall, hee commends his<sup>c</sup> Christian lenitie and patience, for bearing with the selfe-conceited pride of some, and saith, that they shall deserve a greater punishment that will reject againe his authoritie.

quantur. c Idem Epist. 23. ad Episcop. Grindal. Quod tu igitur quorundam audaciam pertulisti, Reverendissime vir, in eo sanè insigne patientiæ & lenitatis Christianæ specimen edidisti, quo majore posthac poenâ digni erunt, qui porro auctoritatem tuam aspernabuntur.

b Beza Epist. 12. ad quosdam Anglicanorum Ecclesiarum fratres.

Hortamur, ut omni animorum exacerbatione depositâ, salvâ manente doctrinæ ipsius veritate, & sanâ conscientia, alii alios patienter ferant, Regiæ Majestati clementissimæ, & omnibus Præsulibus suis ex animo obse-



I confesse this was much from Beza, who was none of the best friends to the Episcopall degree; but yet his desire of concord in the Church, and obedience to publike order, was greater then his aversion from Bishops: And I wish that many among you were no worse disposed.

The latter Divines among the French are very expresse upon this point: My Reverend Father Doctor *Du Moulin*, in his *\* Buckler of the Faith*, is altogether for Episcopacie, and proveth the Antiquitie of it, and that it begun a yeere after our Saviours death: And sheweth how the Apostles were the founders of that order, sending the Reader to the 32. Chapt. of the booke of Prescriptions by *Tertullian*, where hee reckoneth the Apostolicall Churches, whose Bishops were established by the Apostles.

\* *Peter Du Moulin* in his *Buckler of the Faith*, upon the 30. Article of the French Confession, Sect.

124.

And whereas it is alledged against the Episcopall degree, that there was in the Primitive Church two Bishops in one Towne; hee tells you, that in all the Antiquitie

tiquitie it is hard to find three or foure exam- Ibid.  
 ples of two Bishops in one Towne : for the ge-  
 nerall custome was against it, as Theodoret,  
 Chrysostome, and Hierome upon the first to  
 the Philippians witnesse, and Saint Austin in  
 his 110<sup>th</sup>. Epistle.

There also hee complaineth, as farre as  
 hee may, of the disorders that followe e-  
 qualitie, relating and allowing the just ob-  
 jections of the English Clergie in these  
 words : They say, AND THAT WITH GOOD  
 REASON, that no societie, no family, no common-  
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 government of the universall World; That God  
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 under the Old Testament : They say, that to  
 place a man of little capacitie, and newly recei-  
 ved into the Ministerie in like degree with an  
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by the holy Ministry is become contemptible; and that the superioritie of the Bishops of England hath been approved by the most worthy Pastours of our Churches.

How can one say more, living under a different Discipline? Any man may perceive, that hee speaketh feelingly, as one that had an especiall knowledge and experience of the inconveniences of his Discipline: And that hee thinkes more yet then he saith.

In the conclusion, hee craveth a favourable construction of all that the Reformed Divines of those Churches write against Bishops: If sometimes (saith he) we speake against the authoritie of Bishops, we condemne not Episcopall order in it selfe, but speak onely of the corruption which the Church of Rome hath brought into the Episcopacie, making it a temporall principalitie depending upon the Papall throne.

As hee teacheth that true doctrine in his bookes, hee traineth his Scholars in the same: This Thesis was lately defended by him in the Academy of Sedan,

dan, where hee is Doctor of the Chaire :

\* Wee affirme that the Bishops of England, after their conversion and abjuration of Popery, were Gods faithfull servants, and that they ought not to forsake the office or title of Bishop.

\* Petrus Molinens, Theob. de notis Ecclesie, part. 2. Theob. 33. Episcopos Angliæ post conversionem ad fidem, & ejuratum Papismum, asserimus fuisse fideles Dei servos, nec debuisse desere munus vel titulum Episcopi.

In his Bible full of marginall notes written with his owne hand, hee expoundeth this Text, Titus 1. 5. Therefore I left thee in Greece, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in every Citie as I have appointed thee : This is his comment upon it,

\* This imports that some prebeminence was given to Titus above his other colleagues, and the right of conferring orders : As also that which is said to Timothy, Receive no accusation against a Presbyter, seemeth to give unto Timothy a tribunall over other Ministers. The like is implied in that Text of the Angell of the Church

a Oportuit Tito datam aliquam *αὐτοκρατίαν* in ceteros symmystas, & jus *ἡγεμονίας*. Ut & quod Timotheo dicitur, Ne recipe accusationem contra Presbyterum, dare videtur Timotheo tribunal supra Ministros. Adde & illud de Angelo Ephesi : Nec si superioritas esset res mala, Apostolis data esset potestas in ceteros.



*Church of Epbesus* [Revel. 2. 1. where there is but one Angell mentioned, though there were many Priests in the Citie:]

*And if superioritie were an evill thing, God would not have given power to the Apostles over the rest of the Clergie. These are his private and serious thoughts upon that point, wherein hee sought no mans satisfaction but his owne.*

This is also the drift of learned *Chamier* in his Booke of the Papall Monarchie: For hee runneth not to extremes, as you doe; As though, because there must bee no Universall Bishop, there must bee no Diocesan: All

*c Chamier de Papali Monarchia, lib. 3. cap. 14. Art. 11. In Ecclesiis etiam si singulos assignari Episcopos consultius existimetur, tamen omnibus unum imponendum nulla ratio evincit.*

his discourse comes to this, *That although it is thought more convenient to assigne Bishops unto the severall Churches, yet it can bee proved with no reason, that there must bee one set over all, leaving that ground for granted, that it is more convenient to assigne Bishops unto the severall Churches.*

It

It is true, he saith, that the government of the Church is not Monarchicall, but Aristocraticall; for he calls *Aristocracie* the government of Bishops, which *Aristocracie* was not taken away, when *Metropolitanes* were brought in that used the Bishops subject unto them as Colleagues.

*Lib. 10. cap. 3.*

*Lib. 10. cap. 7. Art. 8. Aristocratia Episcoporum regimen, quæ ne tum quidem sublata est cum inducti sunt Metropolitani qui sibi subiectos Episcopos pro collegis habebant.*

He cannot more evidently condemn the Democracie of his Church, than by saying that the government of the Church is Aristocraticall; and the Bishops of England take not so much upon themselves, as he ascribeth unto the first Bishops. \* It is certaine (saith he) that even when the order or degree of Bishops distinct from that of Priests was established, the Bishops were not like Monarchs, having power over the Clergie, but **ELECTED PRINCES**, set over the deliberation and administration of businesses, as it is necessary in all Aristocracies.

*Ibid. c. 5. Art. 6. Constat igitur ne tum quidem cum hic Episcoporum à Presbyteris distinctorum ordo sive gradus est constitutus, Episcopos fuisse tanquam Monarchas qui potestatem haberent in Cleru, sed Principes Electos qui rebus deliberandis præessent sicut necesse est in omni Aristocratia.*

If you object, since your countrey men are so good friends unto Episcopacie, What is the reason that their practice is quite contrary? Why have they no Bishops? Why is parity of Ministers commanded in their Discipline?

D

Si

*Si licet, et placidirationem admittitis, edam.*

I hope to shew to them that have some charity and equity, that the French have such reasons for it, which the Church of Scotland cannot borrow from them.

I. The Protestants of France were forced, after a sort, to dislike Bishops, by the cruell usage which they received from them; they will say with the Authour of the Apologie of the Confessi-

*Apolog. Confes. August. Art. 14.*

*Nos summâ voluntate cupimus  
conservare politiam Ecclesiasti-  
cam, & gradus in Beclia factos:  
Sed Episcopi Sacerdotes nostros  
aut cogunt hoc doctrinæ genus  
quod confessi sumus abjicere ac  
damnare, aut novâ & inauditâ  
crudelitate miseros & innocentes  
occidunt: Hæ causæ impediunt  
quò minus agnoscam hos Episco-  
pos nostri Sacerdotes.*

on of Auspurg, *Wee desire  
with all our heart to preserve the  
Ecclesiasticall Policie, and the  
degrees established in the Church:  
But the Bishops either constrain  
our Priests to renounce and con-  
demne the Doctrin of our Con-  
fession, or kill the poore innocent*

*men with new and unheard of cruelty: These are  
the causes why our Priests will not acknowledge  
those Bishops. And the reformed Churches  
may say of some of the Popish Bishops,  
what S. Bernard was saying of those of his  
time, \* Alas, alas Lord God, they are the for-  
most in persecuting of thee, that seeme to love  
primacie in thy Church. It is the lesse wonder*

*\* Bern. in Registr.*

*Epist. ad Maur.*

*lib. 4. Epist. 32.*

*Heu, heu Do-*

*mine Deus, Ipse*

*sunt in perse-*

*cutione tua pri-*

*mi, qui viden-*

*tur in Ecclesia*

*primatum dili-*

*gere.*

*then,*



then, if after the fearefull executions at *Calbrieres* and *Merindol* by the instigation of some Popish Bishops, they were afraid of their very name.

II. It is most considerable, that the reformation began in France among the people, but in England it began in the Court. The French reformers were Priests, but the English reformers, under the King, were Bishops; and the French Priests could not prevaile with their Bishops, as the King and Bishops of England over their Clergie; For the higher spheres are not carried by the inferiour, but the inferiour by the superiour. It was much that the French Priests could get some retrogradation by their owne course, against the rapidity of the higher sphere. The reformation began among the people and inferiour Clergie, and there it stayed; Therefore the Discipline is popular, and it was not easie for them that were opposed by Bishops to make Bishops. In England the sacred oyntment of the Gospell was powred upon the head, and thence it fell about upon all the limbs, and to the hemmes of the garment; In

France, it was powred upon some limbs onely; whence because it could not mount to the Head, the Discipline also wants a Head: Neither could that holy dew spread so well, because it descended not from the hils. Certainly the Discipline of France deserveth rather compassion, than invectives. And, to speake properly, they *refuse* not Bishops, but they *want* Bishops. If you say, that the reformation in Scotland began also among the people; You know that the worke was never perfected, till your late great King put the last hand to it, by reforming and restoring Bishops: Which if you will not acknowledge for a perfecting, I am sure the French (with whom you claim conformity) would in the like case.

III. Besides, the reformed Churches of France, want means to maintain Bishops, and with much adoe maintaine poore Lectures: For although the Episcopall power be spirituall; yet without temporall means, it cannot keep either power or respect, and not so much as subsistence: Whence they gather, that it is better to want Bishops, than to expose Episcopacie to the scorne of adversaries.

IV. Also

IV. Also it would provoke envie and jealousie, if there were two Bishops in one Diocese, and would but draw oppression upon the weaker side.

V. And if a generall conversion happened, (which God in his mercy bring to passe) two Bishops should meet in one See, and neither would yeeld to his fellow: A consideration which would ever keepe the erroneous Bishop from his conversion.

VI. The reformed Church of France living under the crosse, and expecting the generall conversion, is better without Bishops; for it is a body prepared for obedience, whensoever the Popish Bishops shall reforme the Church, and themselves. And once they were brought to that tryall, as you may read in an Epistle of *Peter Martyr* to *Beza*. The Bishop of Troyes (who was borne Prince of Melfe) having abjured Popery, began to preach the pure Word of God in his Cathedrall Church; and sent for the Elders of the reformed Church, to know whether they would confirme and acknowledge him for their Bishop: Which they all with one consent did, and submit-



ted themselves unto his authority. There is none, I dare say, of all the Churches of France, but would doe as much in the like case. None but would obey Bishops, if Bishops would reforme and obey God. Till God extend so much mercy upon that Kingdome, the poore Churches will stay for the leisure of the Bishops, and keepe themselves in an estate fit for obedience.

VII. Neither would their King suffer them to chuse Bishops of their own, if they would attempt it. For since their Synods provoke jealousy, a Bishops Court would provoke more jealousy, and authority continued in one man would be more obnoxious to envie and obloquie, then consultations of a multitude, intermitted from Synod to Synod, and under severall Presidents, *et ad tempus*. Had our gracious King Charles and his Counsell the same necessitie to tolerate the Papists, as Henry the IV. of France had to reward the Protestants, that were a strong body, and by whom he had beene promoted to the Crown, yet I think not that his Majestie would suffer them to have Bishops, or admit of any jurisdiction;  
 but

but immediately depending upon him. The reformed Churches of France have no jurisdiction, and looke for none; and if your Presbyteries of Scotland would containe themselves in the same modestie, the Covenant would go down, and the King should be obeyed.

Of all these reasons there is none that can serve your turne; wherefore our want of Bishops cannot be a president for your putting down of Bishops.

Since you live under no crosse, and have such a gracious Defender of the faith for your Sovereigne, and both the Kingdoms of this Island professe the same holy Doctrine; to frame another Ecclesiasticall Discipline besides that which his Majestie alloweth, and the Church hath kept for many ages; it is framing two livers in a body that hath but one head and one heart; For of this Island, the King is the head, and Religion is the heart; both the which would have but one Discipline, as it were one liver to disperse blood and spirit into the severall parts of the whole body, with one and the same Oeconomie every where.

Certainly,

Certainly if France had but one heart for Religion, I am perswaded they would never sticke for a different Oeconomie of Discipline.

And the truth is, neither you nor they have a settled Discipline, and therefore both need lesse to stand upon it. This is the last Article of the French Discipline; *These things which are here contained concerning the Discipline, are not so decreed, but that if the benefit of the Church do require it, they may be altered.* Neither doe the French busie their heads about points of Discipline; else it would be seene in their writings. But wheresoever they like the Doctrine, they embrace the Discipline.

In the yeare 1615. my reverend Father was sent for by King *James* of glorious and blessed memory; some discontented brethren in London seeing him highly favoured by his Majesty, came to him with a bill of grievances to be represented to the King; which my Father having perused, returned it unto them againe, saying, That their exceptions were frivolous.

For Ceremonies, and other points of Discipline,



Discipline, I doe not finde you conformable with the French: Whether you celebrate the holy Communion with such reverence as they do in France, let your owne consciences answer. You know there are two gestures of praying practised from the beginning in the Church, kneeling, and standing: The English pray kneeling at the Communion, the French standing. For they sit not at the Table, like the Dutch (wherein the French Church of London, consisting most of Wallons, followeth the Dutch) but walke to the holy Table, and there with a reverent congey receive the Sacrament, which the people taketh not in the dish, as it is with the Dutch, but the Minister delivereth it to every Communicant. When I received in my countrey, the Minister used these words: *It is the body of the Lord Iesus Christ which suffered for your finnes. It is the blood of the Lord Iesus Christ which was shed for your finnes;* And it is an expresse Article of their Discipline, *That the due reverence belonging to the holy Communion, be* Cap. 12. Art. 12  
*carefully maintained.*

E

The

The distribution of the Cup by a Lay-Deacon is worne out of use among them: and whereas it was brought in, in the beginning, and in time of persecution, it was  
*Cap. 12. Art. 9.* afterwards removed, by a Canon of their Discipline, and by way of fact, in all the Churches.

*Ibid.*

And whereas at the first (as in all beginnings of reformation) every one taught his neighbour; and, for want of Ministers, Lay-Deacons would catechize; It was declared by an Article of their Discipline, That the office of those Deacons is not to preach the Word of God, nor to administer the Sacraments.

As for the power of their Lay-Elders, it is little more than the office of Churchwardens in England: Their office is to look to the disorders of the flocke, and give account of it to the Consistory, as Churchwardens put in their Presentments in the Spirituall Court; A voice they have in the Censures, but the determination and pronouncing of the Censure belongs to the Minister. They, and the people together, may admit or refuse a Minister chosen by the Synod, (if the King give way to it;)

And

And so it must needs be, where there is neither Bishop, nor Living, nor right of Patronage.

We hold indeed (saith Chamier) that besides approving or refusing the Ministers chosen, the Laity hath nothing to doe in the government of the Church. This

*Chamier Tom. 2. Lib. 5. c. 2. Nos certe præter electorum Ministrorum approbationem vel reprobationem, nullas esse partes plebis censemus in Ecclesiastico regimine.*

is all the power of the Laity. No mention there of ruling Elders, that have alwayes the casting voice, of which his Majesty saith very truly, That it is a course unheard of in any Church, and in any age.

*Page 424. of his Majesties large Declaration.*

The notable difference betweene the French Elders and the Scottish, was justified, not long since, by one M. Adam Stewart, a Scottishman, heretofore Reader of Philosophie in Sedan, who, finding there the Consistory ruled (as it ought to be) by the Clergie of the place, kept a great coyle to raise the power of the Lay-Eldership, which had no such ambition, and grew so violent in his course, that after a long forbearance, and moderation of the Ministers, they were forced to excommunicate him, and crave the Princes help, who banished him out of his dominions. Being put out

*In the Yeare*

*1631.*



of Sedan, he went to Paris, where he offered to stirre the same matter, but he had no better successe there.

Neither shall ye finde among the Protestants of France, that aversion from the Spirituall Courts which is among you. For although they have more reason to hate the Spirituall Courts of Popery, by whom they have suffered much; yet the Canons of their Discipline allow them to resort to the Spirituall Courts, to sue for their right, and Protestant Advocates are allowed to plead there.

Cap. 14. Art. 8.  
9. & 10.

And which is more, Protestants are allowed to *exercise jurisdictions and procurations under the Clergie of Rome, if so be they do not concerne that which they call spirituality.* Also to be farmers of Tithes, Priories and Church-demeanes; Which sheweth that when they forbid Pastors to possesse any land, under the title of Pastors, it is not because they disallow that the Church should possesse demeanes; But because in the present povertie and paritie, if some few had Livings, and the rest none, they conceive it would breed envie and factions in the Church.

Ibid. Art. 10.

Art. 2.

Cap. 1. art. 40

As

As for Holy-dayes, they observe reverently the dayes of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. And where they have Sermons upon Week dayes (as at *Charonton* by *Paris* upon Thursdayes) they will change the day, when there is a Holy-day of some note in the weeke. This is *Calvins* counsell upon that point;

*I would have you constant in refusing Holy-dayes; yet so, that you picke not a quarrell with every Holy-day, but with those onely that are not at all for edification, and beare a stamp of superstition in the front; And he giveth them for example, the feasts*

*of the Conception and Ascension of the blessed Virgin, which are also refused by the English Church. But generally of all Holy-dayes; the French Discipline commandeth, that No scandall shall bee committed, by working on dayes appointed to rest, according to the Kings Edict; And it were to bee wished, that the Scots were no more refractarie to their good King, the pious Defender of their Faith, than*

*Calvini Epistola ad Montbelgar-  
denses. In festis non recipiendis  
cuperem vos esse constantiores,  
sic tamen ut non litigetur de qui-  
buslibet, sed de iis tantum, quæ  
nec in ædificationem quicquam  
factura sunt, & superstitionem  
prima ipsa facie præ se ferunt.  
Nam in papatu magna  
celebritate Conceptionem & As-  
censionem Virginis coluerunt.*

*cap. 14. Art. 25.*

the French Protestants are to their Sovereigne, though of contrary religion, even in those points of Ecclesiasticall Disciplines.

How they stand affected in all points of Ceremonies and outward Order, you may see by their Confession presented to the Emperour, and the Princes of Germanie.

*Confess. Eccles. Gallicar. inter Opuscula Galvini. Fitemur cum omnibus singulis Ecclesiis hoc jus habere, ut leges et statuta sibi condant ad politiam communem inter suos constituendam, cum omni in domo Dei rite & ordine fieri oporteat. Ejusmodi porro statuta obedientiam deferendam esse, modo ne conscientias astringant, neque superstitio illis adhibeatur: Qui hoc detrectent cerebrosi & perversi apud nos habentur.*

Wee acknowledge, that both all Churches, and every Church, have that right to make Lawes and Statutes for themselves; to establish a publike Order among their own people, since all things must be done in the House of God decently and with order; and that obedience must be yeilded to such statutes, so they doe not binde the consciences, and no superstition be mingled with them: Those that will doe against this, we hold them peevish and stubborne people.

You have heard Beza before perswading the English brethren to obedience unto their Prelates. In the same Epistle hee tells them, That the Surplise is of no such importance, that the Ministers should leave  
their



their function, rather than weare that garment; and the people should leave the publike food [of Gods Word] rather than beare the Pastors that weare it; Likewise for kneeling at the Communion, Church-musicke, the Crosse in Baptisme, and asking questions to children in Baptisme, He thus delivereth his opinion, *De his non est magnopere laborandum*; One should not trouble himselfe much about such things. And *Calvin* praiseth *Hooper* for opposing himselfe manfully against the Extreme Vnction; but blameth him for being too obstinate against the Cope and Surplice.

The French Protestants keepe their zeale of religion for higher matters, than a Surplice or a Crosse in Baptisme; and wonder much, that for such small things, you would parallell them with Antichrist, that maintaine the same holy Faith with you.

But if those ceremonies be a yoke upon your consciences, the yoke is removed; and his Majesty is graciously pleased not to urge them upon you; which would never have beene

*Beza ad quosdam Anglican. Ecclesiarum fratres.* Non videntur illa tanti momenti, ut propterea vel Pastoribus deferendum potius sit Ministerium, quam ut vestes illas assument; vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum, potius quam ita vestitos Pastores audiant.

*Idem.* De genuculatione in Cœna, De cantu Ecclesiæ, Crucis conignatione, Puerorum baptizandorum interrogatione, non est magnopere laborandum.

*Calvinus Bullingeri pag. 28. Edit. onis Genevensis, an. 1576*

bin granted, if the King and his Councell had thought them to be in their nature necessary, and binding the conscience. And though Episcopall order ( which the King will have you to receive ) were a yoke upon your consciences ; Thinke on the other side, that rebelling against your Sovereign, is a staine upon your consciences ; And you are no good Divines, if you choose rather a foule staine then a light yoke. Neither doe you consider, that you may suffer a wrong in your Christian liberty, without wronging your conscience ; as *Beza* saith very worthily, *Many things may, yea, and must be borne with, which are not rightly injoynd ;* For spirituall libertie lieth not in the outward act, but in the intention and believe. If a thing wicked in it selfe be injoynd unto us, it must neither be obeyed in the act ; nor assented unto in the understanding and the will ; But if the thing be indifferent in it selfe, and yet seeme in the judgement inconvenient, we may and must do it, and neither wrong our libertie, nor our conscience ; for in such cases our actions are limited, though our consciences be free, and the  
su-

*Beza Epistola e-  
adem. Possunt  
ac etiam de-  
bent multa to-  
lerari, quæ ta-  
men non recte  
præcipiuntur.*

superiour power may binde us in *foro exte-  
riori*, and leave us free in *foro interiori*, where  
in Christian libertie lieth. Spirituall libertie, Calvin Instit. l. 4  
c. 20. Art. 1.  
Spiritalis li-  
bertas cum po-  
litica servitute  
optime stare  
potest. and politicall bondage, will stand very well toge-  
ther, saith Calvin.

And let not the consequence trouble you;  
As long as the thing commanded is lawfull  
in it selfe, we are not answerable of the  
consequence that may follow, but they  
that command it; and we that move in the  
inferiour orbe of obedience, must quietly  
follow the motions of the higher spheare of  
authoritie: To pull against it inconsider-  
ately, under pretence of Gods service, is  
dashing the second Table against the first,  
and breaking both; That man abuseth Chri-  
stian libertie, or rather is yet sold  
under sinne, that will not with a  
free will obey in the Lord his Ma-  
gistrates or Superiours, and seek-  
eth not to edifie the consciences of  
his brethren, saith Beza.

Beza Epist. 24. ad peregrinorum Ec-  
clesiarum in Anglia fratres. Conse-  
quitur cum abuti Christianæ li-  
bertatis beneficio, qui vel suis Ma-  
gistratibus, vel præpositis suis  
sponte non paret in Domino, nec  
conscientiam fratrum ædificare  
studet.

But though it were a thing granted, that  
the orders imposed upon you by his Maje-  
stie, are not indifferent, but ungodly and  
Antichristian: Are you therefore allowed

F to



to defend Religion with rebellion? Will ye call the Divell to the helpe of God? Sure it is a prodigious kinde of Christian libertie, for a subject to draw his sword against his Sovereigne. You that stand so much upon the point of conscience, Ought ye not to be subject for consciences sake? Were your Sovereigne unjust and froward, and his commands injurious unto God, Had ye instead of our pious Defender of the faith, a fierce Dioclesian. *Illud solis precibus et patientia sanari potest,* Nothing will mend it but prayers and patience. It is Beza's counsell to the discontented brethren of England, conformable to that of S. Peter, *For it is better if the will of God be so that ye suffer for well doing, then for evill doing.* If the Sovereigne come to kill the subject for his religion, The subject must yeeld him his throate, not charge his Pike against him.

Rom. 13. 5.

Beza ibid.

1 Pet. 3. 17.

Calvin lived in the time of the hottest persecutions, and had credit enough to have made the people to take armes to defend the libertie of their consciences; But this is his doctrine; *If we be persecuted for godlinesse by an impious and sacrilegious Prince,*  
 Let

Let us first of all remember our sins which no doubt are corrected by God with such scourges; This will bridle our impatience with humilitie; Then let this thought come into our minds, That it is not our part to mend such evils; And this only remaineth unto us, even to call upon Gods helpe, in whose hand are the hearts of Kings, and the inclinations of Kingdomes.

And whereas in the same Chapter, he teacheth, that in case the King command any thing contrary to Gods command, we must obey God rather then men; he will not have Christians to fight for righteousness, but to suffer for righteousness: Let this thought comfort us, saith he, that we yeeld (unto the King) that obedience which God requireth, when we suffer any thing, rather than turne aside from Godliness.

And how the good man was averse from taking armes against a Sovereigne, under pretence of religion; he sheweth it in his Epistle to Francis the first of France, If any (saith he) under colour of the Gospell trouble

*Calvin. Instit. l. 4. c. 20. art. 29. Si ab impio & sacrilego Principe vexamur ob pietatem, subeat primum delictorum nostrorum recordatio, quæ talibus haud dubie Domini flagellis castigantur; Inde humilitas impatentiam nostram frenabit; Succurrat deinde hæc cogitatio, non nostrum esse huiusmodi malis mederi; hoc tantum esse reliquum, ut Domini opem imploremus, cujus in manu sunt regum corda & regnorum inclinationes.*

*Ibid. art. vii. Hac nos cogitatione consolemur, illam tum nos prestare quam Deus exigit obedientiam, dum quidvis perpetimur potius quam a pietate deflectamus.*

*Calvin. Epist. ad Franciscum 1. Regem, quæ est ante Institutiones. Quod si qui sub prætextu Evangelii tumultuantur (quales hæcenus in regno tuo fuisse non comperitum est) sunt leges & legum pœnæ, quibus pro meritis graviter exerceantur; Modò ne interim Evangelium Dei ob scelestorum hominum nequitiam male audiat.*

your state, ( and bitherto there hath beene none such in your Kingdome ) there are lawes and penall statutes, to repressethem severally, according to their deserts; so that in the meane while the Gospell of God be not defamed for the malice of wicked men.

And after many just complaints to the King for the fearefull executions used against his partie, he endeth thus, We indeed like sheepe kept for the slaughter, may be brought to any extremity; yet still we will possesse our soules in patience, and looke for the mightie hand of God, which certainly will assist us in due time.

*Ibid. Sin vero ita aures tuas occupant malevolorum susurri, ut nullus sit reis pro se dicendi locus, importunæ vero illæ Furæ, te connivente, semper viaculis, flagris, equuleis, sectionibus, incensibus sæviunt: Nos quidem ut oves macstationi destinata ad extrema quæque redigemur; sic tamen ut in patientia nostra possideamus animas nostras, & manum Domini fortem expectemus, quæ indubie in tempore aderit.*

These are the armes, the forces, and the munitions, which the Church of that time opposed to their Sovereigne, in time of persecution. And not to loade this Epistle with testimonies of the late French Writers; The Churches of France have lately declared to his Majesties Ambassador there,



there, their utter dislike of the insurrection of Scotland, under pretence of a Covenant with Christ.

But I see an objection comming, which (as farre as I can ghesse) hath prevailed with many, to draw them to the present insurrection: That let the French Churches give never so good counsell of obedience, yet their actions give to the Scots a president to take armes for the defence of their religion. And this is likely that which made the Covenanters say in one of their Petitions to his Majesty, that *the neighbour Churches would approve all their proceedings.*

*Pag. 417. of his  
Majesties large  
Declaration.*

I might answer, that the case is not alike; the two Courts of Great Britaine and France being so different in Religion, and the Scots not being prest to alter their Religion, as the French were for a long time: But because there can be no just cause to take armes against a lawfull Sovereigne, two things may be said to that objection.

First, that to take counsell of a friend, you must take him when he is in cold blood, not when he is drawing his sword. Look to the opinions and behaviour of  
F 3 their

their Divines, not to the actions of some rash heads.

Next, if you look how they have done, you must look also how they have sped, and you shall have little encouragement to follow their example.

But not to wrong my Countreymen; If you read their History from the yeare 1560. when the civill warres begun, you shall finde, that most part of the time their warres had such and so important occasions, as your party cannot bring for the present disorders.

*Henry* the II. of France died about the yeare 1560. leaving foure sonnes under age, the eldest whereof, *Francis* the II. raigned little above one yeare, and his brother *Charles* the IX. was some ten yeares old when he began to raigne. During the minority of these Kings, the Queene mother, by the assistance of the house of *Guise*, excluded the Princes of the blood from the protection of the Kings person and kingdome, which was their right. The Princes being Protestants, and finding a discontented party, who, for the space of wellnigh forty yeares,

yeares, had suffered a most fierce persecuti-  
on, easily drew to their side all the Prote-  
stants of France; and so twisted their inter-  
ests with the interest of Religion, that they  
never made a peace for themselves alone,  
but for the whole party: By which severall  
peaces they got Edicts in their favour, and  
places of defence, and grew a considerable  
party.

King *Charles* the IX. being come to age,  
and finding a troubled State, sought to  
quench with blood the fire kindled in his  
kingdome; and by a treacherous match of  
his sister with the young King of Navarre,  
got the Heads of the Protestants to Paris,  
and there slew them. This was the famous  
feast of *S. Bartholomew* 1572. upon which,  
and some moneths after, there was above  
fourescore thousand of the Protestant party  
killed in cold blood throughout all the  
kingdome.

This usage, though it cannot justify the  
Protestants for taking armes afterwards  
for their defence, yet it taketh away great  
part of the reproach; it being no wonder,  
if those that have suffered more than nature  
can



can beare, will doe more than duty can justify.

*Charles* the IX. being dead two yeares after the Massacre, *Henry* the III. succeeded, who being of a milder temper than his brother, the Protestants enjoyed some quiet for a while; which his Popish subjects disliking, (or rather, his mother, whose ordinary course was, to keep her authority by publike divisions) the League began presently for the extirpation of the Protestant party, without the Kings consent; yet the King, being a timorous man, was drawne to it perforce, in the end; In the meane while, the King of Navarre and the rest of the Protestants stood upon their defence; I will not determine whether they ought to have yeelded their throats to the slaughter, the persecution being not raised against them by their Sovereigne, but by a Covenant of his subjects with the Pope and the King of Spaine, before the King had given way to it; But the King himselfe soone justified their armes; for perceiving that the League was a yoke upon his owne necke, which devested him of his right, and brought

brought into the kingdome another authority than his own, he renounced the League, and called the King of Navarre, and the Protestants to his aid, who did him faithfull service with great alacrity and valour; till the King being dead in the yeare 1589. the right of the Crowne fell to the Head of their party, the King of Navarre, whom by Gods blessing, and their valour, they raised to the Throne, and helped him not onely with their sword, but maintained him with their purses, and did him such services as could not be repaid.

King *Henry* the IV. having removed from the League all pretences of bearing armes against him as an Hugonot, by forsaking the reformed Religion, to our infinite grieve and losse; And seeing his Protestant party justly discontented, granted them liberty of Religion, and a lease for yeares of certaine places of safety, which (as the French Protestants expound it) would have been to no purpose, had it not been to defend themselves by way of armes when they should be vexed. So they did afterwards, when King *Lewis* now  
 G                      reigning

reigning redemanded those places, and would continue the lease no longer.

Till the reign of King Lewis the armies of the Protestants were either justifiable, or excusable; But their wars in his time were neither; and they prospered accordingly.

Their first and greatest fault was in the yeares 1615 and 1616 when they joyned with the Prince of Conde to crosse the Kings match with Spaine; yet by the persuasions of my reverend Father, living then in Paris, all the Churches on this side Loire, that is, one halfe of France, kept themselves in the Kings obedience; for which the Queene Regent gave him thanks.

But the injurie stuck so deep in the Kings stomach, that five yeares after he would have all his places from the Protestants: who when they stood stiffly for the keeping of those places in the Assembly of Rochell, my Father being at the same time President of the Nationall Synod at Alaix, stood for obedience with much eagernesse, and after the dissolution of the Synod, writ to the Assembly a large letter, to perswade them

*\* The assembly of Rochell was a Politicall assembly, such as the Protestants were allowed then to keepe.*

*The copy of that Letter is by me.*



them by reasons both of conscience and  
 prudence, rather to suffer for the Gospell,  
 than stand in Armes against their Sove-  
 raigne. But the Assembly being ruled by  
 violent men, chose the counsels of warre,  
 and drew the Kings armes upon many that  
 were most desirous of obedience. What  
 miseries we have suffered by the rashnesse  
 of few men, and the weak estate we were  
 brought to by these violent courses, we  
 think on it with bitter grief: Our wounds  
 are fresh, and are like to bleed till the poore  
 Church bleed out her life, if God be no  
 more mercifull to us, than we have been to  
 our selves.

In one point I am afraid that you shall  
 be like us, if you go on in your course. For  
 whereas most of the Kings subjects in  
 Scotland are misled, and would gladly o-  
 bey his Majesty, if their Landlords and  
 leaders would give them leave: It is to be  
 feared, that the Kings artillery shall make  
 little distinction between good hearts and  
 false hearts.

I beseech you, since you claime confor-  
 mity with the French, compare your case

with theirs. The French Protestants had to do with a King of contrary religion; They were incensed by many wrongs and oppressions; They were in danger (in all likelihood) to lose with their townes and forts, their liberty, their religion, and their life; The priueledges which they enjoyed, were rewards of their long services. By the Charter of Rochell, when they yeelded to Lewis the XI. it was granted to them, that they should bee no longer the Kings subjects, then the King should maintaine their immunittes; And yet these true reasons and just feares, could not justifie their defensive armes against their Soveraigne, but they were condemned by the best of their owne, and of their neighbours; and God shewed his dislike, by the ill successe he gave them.

What approbation then of all good men, what blessing of God may the Covenanters hope for, by standing in armes against their good King, a Prince in piety and clemency without parallell, who never provoked them by any ill usage, but rather favoured them above their fellow subjects?

It

It may doe you good to observe, that the violent Counsellors of war in the assembly of Rochell, soone after betrayed their party, and sold their places: Others turned Papists and were rewarded for it; which sheweth, that they were wonne before to thrust their party into a precipice, whence there was no way to get out. But the great Counsellour of peace, my Reverend Father, at that very time was forced to flie for his life out of the Kingdome, and leave his meanes behinde him, being maligned because by the respect of his presence, and his powerfull perswasions, he kept the people in the Kings obedience, which was the greatest crossing of the designs of our adversaries, who being fully bent upon our undoing, wanted but a pretence. I feare also that when God revealeth the secrets of the hearts, Some fierce Covenanters shall be found Iesuities, whose purpose was to make the King lose one way or other, that supremacie which the Pope challengeth, and howsoever, to get profit by our harmes.

I would desire you also to learne by our faults and misfortunes, that in a Covenant



against a lawfull and undoubted Sovereign,  
 there must needs be in the end a great deale  
 of disunion. Our Deputies in the Assembly  
 of Rochell, sent their orders over all the  
 kingdome, but they were not followed:  
 And when the King appeared with an ar-  
 mie, many turned to his side, and weakned  
 their owne party. Likewise when his Ma-  
 jestie shall come to you to make himselfe o-  
 beyed, either with the terrour or the smart  
 of his Royall sword, be sure that you shall  
 see the same disunion among you; Neither  
 shall your Covenant be able to keepe all to-  
 gether; But the presence of their naturall  
 Prince, and his anger armed with strength,  
 will strike a greater awe in the hearts of his  
 subjects, than any order of your tables.

It is with Politicke bodies as with quick-  
 silver, which is easily stirred and divided;  
 But divide it never so much, all the severall  
 parts will of themselves meet in their center  
 againe; for it must be a very great violence  
 that will quench nature, and when you  
 have done all, the King will be King.

God give you all grace to learne wise-  
 dome by the faults of your neighbours;  
 And

And to the Churches of France so much blessednesse, that for a full agreement in all points with their King and his Clergie, there be nothing wanting on their parts but to receive Bishops.

If you dissent from me in these points of Discipline and Obedience, you must beare with me, for this tincture, I have kept from the education which I received at home. But I hope you will receive this advice of mine, with the same minde as it is given, that is with charity and a sincere desire to see God glorified, and the Church at peace, and the King obeyed.

Which is the subject of the daily prayers of 22: 9: 49

*Chester.*  
*March 1. 1639.*  
*11. 1640.*

Your friend and servant in Christ,  
*Peter Du-Moulin*  
 the sonne.